631 635 There are abatware who personally own hills in other provinces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 562 624 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills. They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic] without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 622 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill. Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

635 In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without
565 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces
634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in
614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided
[635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district
[634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of
[635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

643 In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as
614 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.

[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale; they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 634 When discussing important matters, the king, also the provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state council or a communal council, respectively. These councils are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The council is convened on important occasions, and the king or the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The

634 641 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]

643 641 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 631 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

644 634 641 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [1402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

court of the king. The feudal lord, the manangwa, has the duty of keeping his subjects in check, straightening out their affairs, and supporting his master with arms and retainers. In payment he has the right to be cared for by the inhabitants of the holdings entrusted to him. They must perform compulsory services to recompense him for the land given them to cultivate. Besides that, chiefs also enjoy a profit from the other taxes collected for the king.

The clients of the king administer their holdings with the help of subchiefs, and in each province they have a greater or lesser number of scattered possessions.

The representative of the manangwa is called kissonga and usually belongs to his master's family. He is appointed by his master, just as the king appoints the manangwa. The sons of high chiefs often hold this office. Thus, Nigensi's son, Kassasi, is on the Kwischara Peninsula in northern Mukinjaga (1);

1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 249.

Bushakwe's son, Mulangira, lives in Kawagali (2) with his grand-

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 73, 74.

mother, Kiramato; Von Parisch also mentions the mutware, Sebitana, son of Bushakwe, in Bwischascha; and Dr. Kandt (3)

3. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 505.

speaks of Semirigamba in southern Lubengera. In the Bahutu chieftainships of Bgisha, ruled by Sebikoko, Mogalule, Kati, Mutweki, Sebingiri, Chunga Ngombe, and others, conditions are

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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614 3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
Sub-divisions:
(*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
(*b*) Abazigaba, " "
(*c*) Abatyaba, " "
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 The head of the country was the king, whose title was
692 *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not
● 634 appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were
[428] hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district;
693 but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court
[203] of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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634 [693] the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or *inhebe*.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

Taxation

634 651 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

Murder

682 628 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

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2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

(a) *Districts, hills, and neighbourhoods*

From the point of view of territorial administration, the border zones were distinguished from the rest of the country. Border zones which were permanently threatened by foreign attack were administered by the chief of the army, the headquarters, and camp of which situated in the region. The centre of Ruanda and the regions which were close to a foreign territory not regarded as dangerous were divided into what we shall call administrative districts. There is an almost complete unanimity of informants (97 per cent.) on this.[11]

Unfortunately, there is confusion about the names applied to these areas. Five names were given by informants, with the following percentages: *igikingi* (3 per cent.); *igiti* (19 per cent.), *urugo* (12 per cent.); *umurwa* (7 per cent.); *ubukebe* (24 per cent.). Moreover, the three terms *igikingi*, *igiti*, *urugo* were all used, according to 2 per cent.; *igiti* and *urugo* according to 4 per cent.; *igikingi* and *igiti* according to 6 per cent.; *igiti* and *ubukebe* according to 8 per cent.; *igikingi*, *igiti*, and *ubukebe* according to 1 per cent. Finally, to add to the confusion, the same word was used to mean different but related units. For instance *igikingi* could mean a subdivision of a hill—according to 97 per cent.—and a hill was itself part of a district to which, as we have just indicated, 1½ per cent. applied the term *igikingi*.

At all events the whole country was divided into administrative locations that may be designated as districts. Each of them was ruled by two chiefs, neither of them dependent on the other. Their authority extended over the same territory but from different points of view. The land-chief (*umunyabutaka*) took care of the dues from agriculture and the cattle-chief (*umunyamukenke*) of the dues from stock. According to 60 per cent. of our informants, the same person could not have the two charges. It was possible, however, according to 36 per cent. of the Tutsi asked. But the usual situation was to have two chiefs and not a single one.

The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the

[11] As has been explained in the introduction, a hundred questions on the political organization have been put to three hundred informants chosen from all the regions of Ruanda (the interviews took place in seventy-four different places). The percentages to be found in that chapter refer to this sample. When the percentages included decimal fractions, the figures have been brought to the nearest unit.

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be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[18]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[18] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 65.

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Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs. The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

A second function of the administrative structure was to enable those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court. Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments.

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more independent of the central government was avoided by the mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens.* In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened.

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(*c*) *Social cohesion*

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole.

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the